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THERE'S A READY-MADE JOB FOR THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

And the job is to provide first-class citizenship—and homes—for these three kids, and civil rights for 15,000,000 U.S. Negroes. These children, members of families evicted for trying to vote in Fayette County, Tenn. (see p. 3), spent a pretty bleak holiday season. If Congress doesn't move on civil rights (see below) the prospect will be even bleaker for the hopes of millions that a change of Administration will mean a change in policy.

WASHINGTON PROTEST

Abolition rally in capital hits Un-Americans

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

ON THE EVE of the opening of the 87th Congress, a mass demonstration in Washington and the events which led up to it, placed in perspective the Congressional witch-hunting committees, their supporters and their opponents. Over 350 persons—students and adults from many parts of the country—capped a day of picketing and visits to Congressmen with a mass rally at All Souls Unitarian Church calling for abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

While the audience heard Dr. Willard Uphaus speak of "our right to fulfill our dream of brotherly relations between peoples and nations" without "constant dread of punishment for creative thinking and living," outside the church 50 persons marched under the sponsorship of the "Anti-Communist International" calling for the overthrow of Premier Castro of Cuba and support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

NAZIS ON THE LINE: Earlier in the day, 350 demonstrators who sought the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, had shared the block across Lafayette Park from the White House with 100 supporters of the Un-American Activities Committee and 25 or more

Nazis wearing khaki-colored uniforms and black gloves and waving a red Nazi flag with its black Swastika.

On a picket line sponsored by the Youth to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, a New York college girl said in shocked tones: "Did you see the leader of the Nazi line? He had a child in his arms and he was wearing a Swastika armband."

An elderly woman from Cleveland said:

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EVEN BEFORE KENNEDY TAKES OFFICE

Negroes angry over civil rights runaround

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

BITTER DISILLUSIONMENT with the Kennedy Administration was developed even before the new Congress met on Jan. 3 and three weeks before Inauguration on Jan. 20. This was made clear at the "Conference on Majority Rule in Congress" held in Washington, D.C., on Dec. 28 and attended by 100 representatives of 41 labor, civic, religious and civil rights organizations under the leadership of Americans for Democratic Action. The Conference was aimed at the problem of (1) reform of Senate Rule 22 so as to eliminate filibusters; (2) reform of the House Rules Committee, and (3) changes in other Congressional rules and procedures blocking majority action.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP told the conference he was "distressed at the atmosphere of super-caution" which had pervaded the Kennedy approach to civil rights. He charged that President-elect Kennedy was urging "bold action" on matters such as our space program but was flying "supercautious trial balloons" on rights

THEY WANT ACTION: Wilkins observed that 79 per cent of Negro voters cast ballots for Kennedy Nov. 8. and they expect action on civil rights from the new Administration and Congress. He criticized Democratic tactics in the special August session of Congress which bypassed action on civil rights under the guise that this was done to give priority to urgent social and economic legislation. None of this legislation actually was enacted. Wilkins commented: "This is the fate of attempts of appeasement" on such vital issues as civil rights.

Earlier in the conference, NAACP Washington representative Clarence Mitchell made an impassioned protest against the prospective deal to bypass rights in order to get Southern support for Kennedy's legislative aims on housing, education, minimum wages, distressed areas, and medical care to the aged. Mitchell said that a deal to put off action on civil rights was "a price too high for any combination of bills." Leon Higginbottom, president of the NAACP Philadelphia branch, wanted Kennedy "put on the spot" on civil rights.

WHO FOR THE SPOT? The boiling Negro resentment was countered by some white liberals. Boris Shiskin, AFL-CIO representative on civil rights, objected to Higginbottom's statement and said the liberal lobby should put "other people on the spot in order to help Jack Kennedy." Shiskin was roundly applauded. When Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) sought to defend the Kennedy tactics on civil rights, he met strong resistance from Negro leaders.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., national vice-chairman of ADA, was the general chairman of the Conference, and its coordinator was William L. Taylor, ADA Washington

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Will the U.S.-created Laos mess be dumped into UN's lap?

By Kumar Goshal

EVENTS IN THE CONGO continued to affect the UN, although the General Assembly on Dec. 20 adjourned until March 7. And further jolts seemed to be in store for the UN if the ugly conflict in Laos were dumped into its lap.

UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold flew to Leopoldville on Jan. 2 to meet the Afro-Asians in his Congo advisory group in an effort to establish a stable government through consultation with Congolese leaders. He gave no indication that he planned to consult imprisoned Premier Lumumba. The U.S. press, in fact, took for granted that Hammarskjold would ignore Lumumba. A New York **Mirror** headline said (Dec. 28): "Dag Going to Congo to Keep Lumumba Out."

TRAVELERS' REPORT: Nevertheless, reports of Lumumba's popularity continued to break into print. Sen. Frank Moss (D-Utah) said he had noted widespread resentment among the Congolese both against the unfair treatment of Lumumba by U.S.-supported army chief Col. Mobutu and against Mobutu's administration. Moss recently returned from a tour of the Congo and other African states with the President-elect's brother, Edward Kennedy, and Senators Frank Church (D-Idaho) and Gale McGee (D-Wyo.).

The New York **Times** reported (Dec. 30) that Congolese army units in areas adjacent to Oriental province—where Lumumba supporters have set up a rival government—were declaring for pro-Lumumba Gen. Victor Lundula. The **Wall Street Journal** reported (Dec. 29) the "claim" of UN officials in the Congo that "any representative government . . . will have to include Lumumba in order to survive." If civil war broke out, correspondents felt there was a 50-50 chance that Lumumba would be executed if he has not already been done away with.

THE SAME MOTIVE: Washington seemed to be following the same policy in Laos as in the Congo: promoting the overthrow of a constitutional government; putting in power an army "strongman," and running roughshod over treaties and agreements and even the sentiments of its own allies—all undertaken to "contain communism."

The 1954 Geneva conference—with Britain and the Soviet Union as co-chairmen—ended the French war in Indo-China and declared Laos an independent and neutral country. It set up an international commission (India, Canada, Poland) to supervise general elections and integrate into the Royal army the veteran Pathet Lao fighters against the French.

Washington refused to abide by the Geneva decision. It considered Laos militarily valuable because the country bordered on China, North and South Vietnam, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia. The U.S. therefore placed Laos under the military protection of SEATO.

U.S. Ambassador Graham Parsons and other American officials used their in-

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THE MAIL BAG

Wilkinson bombing

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It was shocking to learn that Frank Wilkinson's home has been bombed with great loss to his property. This is the second attempt of the Los Angeles' bombers on Mr. Wilkinson. The first was directed at his office.

This outrage, which presumably was done in the name of patriotism and by those professional patriots who pretend to deplore force and violence, should be protested. I would like to urge all readers of the GUARDIAN (1) to write to Gov. Edmund Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif., urging an investigation and prosecution of the culprits; (2) to contribute to a fund to compensate the Wilkinson family for their loss.

Clark Foreman, Director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

For what you can do, *see p. 9.* Ed.

Two facts

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Two facts important for small "d" democrats, socialists and assorted progressives ought to be noted. Kennedy, although not yet having taken office for the first term, is already running for his second term. No other interpretation can be given to his Cabinet appointments with their heavy emphasis on westerners.

The other fact is a serious firming up of American determination to prevent the people's movements in Latin America, Africa and East Asia from achieving their rightful independence. The frightening fact about this is that our foreign policy is being made by the CIA and the Navy which seems to keep even our President uninformed about their movements.

Eugene Eagle

Terrific task

SITKA, ALASKA

The task before the new President is going to be terrific if he thinks the U.S. can hold back the revolutions of the underfed, underclothed, underhoused nations of the world by the use of force.

Owen C. Rademacher

The religious issue

HOUSTON, TEXAS

There has been a lot of rejoicing and exulting because at last "we have matured to the point where a Catholic can be elected President of the United States!" This is both a false premise and only partially true.

I have studied the returns as of this date from Oklahoma, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Utah, Idaho and Oregon, and in every one of these states, Kennedy's religion lost him their electoral vote. Is there any maturity about that?

By the same token, the returns from New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts and, to a lesser degree, Pennsylvania, show that the fight over religion worked both ways. Is there any maturity about these states giving their votes to Kennedy simply because he happened to be a Catholic?

This is a two-party country; **has been a two-party country** since the beginning, with the exception of a few times when there were intra-party fights in one party that broke it up into splinter groups.

The only hope for so-called left-wingers is to enroll in the Democratic Party and lend their efforts to making it the complete party for progress and reform, help rid the Democratic Party of the influence of the reactionary right wing of the South.

A. D. Covin

Let's do it

LEGGETT, CALIF.

The tried and true method of starting a workingman's party is by mass action at the grass roots. You, Mr., Miss or Mrs. Union member, Farm Organization member, Vet's Organization member, Church member, get the floor during New Business and say something like: "Brother Chairman, I move this Union explore the possibilities of starting a Labor Party in the U.S.A. as I do not feel that the Workers, Farmers, Small Business and Intelligentsia of this country are properly represented by either of the existing political parties."

I'll do it, you do it, talk it up with John and George, maybe they'll do it.

Robert N. Scribner

Joe Kehoe

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In your Dec. 19 issue appeared a bare announcement of the death of Joe Kehoe. A great and beautiful man passed away. Joe Kehoe touched all those he met with love. The hundreds of us who followed him to his grave wept openly. For Joe was a man of vast wisdom, charity and the deepest feeling for us all.

Joe Kehoe was a union leader. The kindest of men, he fought what was evil all his life. Twenty different times he was subpenaed by the various versions of the "Un-American Committee." For 20 years of his 49 years this great man was hounded by miserable little men. He never buckled. He never gave an inch.

He read poetry with beauty and passion. He was a brother to writers. The word was power. He respected it and taught others to respect it. Men whose names are well known brought their work to him for criticism.

Joe Kehoe was a "heart" of his union, always available, always involved, always active even though his own heart was in danger of bursting—as it did.

Above all, Joe was a man of great love and tenderness. His loss to his family, to his three girls, is very deep, as his loss to his friends.

Ted Pollack

A better use

AUBURN, MAINE

Someone sent me a copy of the Nov. 28 GUARDIAN. Your article on Cuba was excellent.

I do not approve of my government donating a million dollars to help those Cuban refugees on our soil whose main purpose is to overthrow Castro. That money could be better spent on the 17,000,000 Americans whom President-elect Kennedy said in a nation-wide broadcast went to bed hungry every night.

Willis C. Strout

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Frankly, sir, my landlord needs more money!"

Father Duffy's freedom

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In the GUARDIAN (Dec. 12) I read with interest an excerpt from a report issued by the Religious Freedom Committee on Ralph Lord Roy's book, **Communism and the Churches.**

I was interviewed by Mr. Roy in the summer of 1956 apropos of my efforts for peace, civil rights, etc. I do not know if he mentions me in his book, but whether he does or not, these efforts of mine did not proceed from any Communist source of motivation, but from Christian principles, ideals and even commandments.

I am now heading the Catholic Church of the North-American Rite, which I hope will give a lead to Catholics and Christians generally in the fields of justice, freedom, human brotherhood and peace and put an end to the diabolical methods of propaganda that associate the pursuit of these Christian ideas with Communism. I would like to say that I am glad that Communists are also interested in the pursuit of these ideas, and as a Christian I have been and am still always willing to cooperate with them and with any other groups in that pursuit.

(Rev.) Clarence E. Duffy
639 E. 12th Street

Too mild

GRANGER, WASH.

The GUARDIAN is always good and to the point, only a bit too mild. Capitalistic reforms will not solve our economic problems.

Gene Smith

Precocious

JERICHO, N.Y.

I think your paper is excellent. My parents have a subscription and I read the paper when they are done. Cedric Belfrage's article, **My six hours behind the Cadillac curtain,** (Dec. 12th) was very amusing and funny. I think your paper is well worth the 15c we pay for it. I am $11\frac{1}{2}$ years old.

Chuck Licht

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"The next civilization in this country will be communistic unless there is a change in the trend toward drinking and other general crimes."—Judge C. C. Chambers, Logan, West Virginia.

Quoted in LISTEN, **A Journal of Better Living,** Mountain View, Calif.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: K. R., Los Angeles, Calif.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN PITTSBURGH LAST WEEK a trial began of three Communist leaders, Steve Nelson, James Dolsen and Andrew Onda, on an old and seldom-used state sedition law. A plea for a change of venue was denied. The prosecution admitted a defense charge that it had spied on prospective jurors.

In Washington the Un-American Activities Committee recommended that Congress legalize wire-tapping, and urged an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act to permit prosecution of union leaders who resign from the Communist Party to comply with the law.

In Albany, N.Y., an attorney for the Newsdealers Assn. of Greater New York asked Gov. Dewey and the state attorney general to ban the **Daily Worker** from newsstands.

In Brooklyn the Bar Assn. prepared to draw up a "canon of ethics" that would disbar Communist lawyers and prevent Communists from becoming lawyers.

In New York City the American Labor Party urged public hearings before the Board of Education takes action on recommendations that eight school teachers be dismissed because they refused to answer a political quiz.

—From the National Guardian, Jan. 10, 1951.

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REPORT TO READERS

Laos--danger signal

THE PEACE OF THE WORLD is in danger in Laos, and the threat comes not from any reported intervention from China or North Viet Nam, but from intervention by the government of the United States. The fact is—and it is a fact which the propaganda arm of the U.S. government and the American press seek to distort—the fact is that the present government of Laos, which took over after the flight of Premier Souvanna Phouma, is a thoroughly unpopular regime which owes its life only to American weapons and supplies. It took over against the wishes of the people of Laos and in contradiction to the Geneva agreement which created the new nations out of French Indo-China. It succeeded only because the U.S. puppet regimes on its borders refused to send in food; and Laos is dependent on its neighbors for most of its food.

Whether it actually forced a retreat by the nationalist troops, which seek a neutralist Laos, or whether the nationalists fell back to regroup, is hard to determine. But the news is that the nationalists, in cooperation with the Pathet Lao, are driving down through the country again, and the government of Boun Oum, left to itself, would not last a week.

WASHINGTON KNOWS THIS, and this is why it has forced a meeting of the SEATO powers, most of which are reluctant to the extreme to become parties to a dirty game which could end in tragedy for the world. This is why Washington is sending aircraft carriers close to Laos, and moving troop-laden planes out of bases in the United States. Asked where the troops were being sent, the commanding general of the 839th Air Division at Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina said: "Of course you know we have various places to go and pick up people who fight. That is where we went."

In Washington the State Department, endorsed by a President who seems all but to have vanished from the public scene, took "an extremely serious view" of the situation, based on reports that troops from China and North Viet Nam had crossed the Laotian border. The reports were denied in Hanoi, Peking, Hong Kong, Paris and London, but the State Department's view became even more serious—and befogged—as the hours went on.

But a serious view was taken also in Peking which, if you please, has a greater stake in the situation, since Laos is on its border. The presence of the United States troops on Laotian soil would not be any more comforting to the Chinese than was the presence of United States troops on the Chinese border in North Korea. Once before, Peking issued warnings which were ignored by a peacock general named MacArthur, and a tin-horn President named Truman, who kept on wanting to play soldier even after he became an old man.

WHAT KIND OF GAME is being played in Washington hardly a fortnight before a new Administration takes office? From London, Paris and Moscow come urgent pleas to reintroduce the three-nation control commission—India, Poland, Canada—or to call again for a Geneva conference to iron out the tangled situation—a conference which would include China, as it did in 1954.

But this Washington seems to want to prevent at all costs, and the costs indeed will be heavy if the obtuseness continues. Why in the name of all reason the government of the United States insists on ignoring the existence of 600,000,000 Chinese is a problem for the most learned psychiatrists. But even more to the point—as Asians and Africans both are learning the hard way—is the fact that Washington cannot conceive of a people—the people of Laos, for example—choosing a neutralist way on their own without the "intervention" of the Communists.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspects of the situation, as Kumar Goshal notes in this issue, for Americans who look desperately to the new year and the new Administration for hope is the silence at Palm Beach. President-elect Kennedy, fully briefed on the situation, has nothing to say. Both the new Secretary of State Dean Rusk and his Under Secretary Chester Bowles are silent. The nation's new ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, is silent. It is nonsense to say, as a Kennedy spokesman has, that it is the President-elect's policy not to comment on actions of the Eisenhower Administration. Not only nonsense but criminal negligence if the nation is brought once again to the brink of war. Life and politics are not lived in a vacuum.

It is the duty of the men who will be running the new Administration to speak out now. If they are not willing to do so, it is our duty to force them to. America needs not a government by default, but a government which must take an active and constructive leadership in the struggle to create a world at peace.

—THE GUARDIAN

VIOLENCE COMES TO FAYETTE COUNTY, TENN.

'Freedom Villages' of tents are home to evicted Negroes

THE WINTRY LANDSCAPE of Fayette County, Tennessee, is dotted by clusters of khaki-colored tents on land owned by Negro farmers. These are "Freedom Villages" occupied by families evicted because they registered to vote. A "village" houses 12 to 15 families; behind each tent household goods are piled; in front, children play. Smoke rising from cook-fires means "This is home; we are staying." Freedom Villages are symbols of Southern Negroes' determination to win their struggle for equal rights.

In Somerville, home of John McFerren, organizer of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Mayor I. P. Yancey called the tent city a "propaganda"

Injunction granted

ON DEC. 30 the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati granted a temporary injunction to halt evictions of Negro tenant farmers in Haywood County, Tenn. Final argument on the Federal government's charge that 150 white landowners and a bank have used economic coercion to keep Negroes from voting will be heard by the Court at its February session. The Court referred Fayette County Negroes' request for a temporary halting of evictions back to Memphis Federal Judge Marion S. Boyd who had earlier ruled that the 1957 Civil Rights Act did not give him power to interfere with contracts and property.

stunt. But there are hundreds of homeless Negroes in the two counties of Fayette and Haywood, and the prospect was that 1,000 families would be put off their land by Jan. 1. Tents were the only answer.

MECHANIZATION: The Tennessee evictions are part of a larger economic problem facing the South and the nation. Mechanization is spreading and Negro workers are being displaced by machines. In Mississippi's Delta area mechanization has already created large-scale unemployment, which coincides with the White Citizens Council's five-year-plan to drive out 500,000 Negroes by 1964.

The Tennessee story began in 1957 when Negroes organized to register and vote. At first white landlords merely "suggested" that their Negro tenants remove their names from the registration list.

When Negroes refused, the economic boycott began. In Haywood County a Negro store owner was put out of business in two weeks when wholesale salesmen dropped his store from their routes. Negro farmers found themselves unable to buy food and clothing, or gasoline for farm machinery. Then the evictions started.

EARLY WILLIAMS WAS SHOT BUT HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN WERE UNHURT

His hospital comment: "I ain't scared and I plan to go back"

UNDERGROUND EXISTENCE: Since early 1959, when the registration drive was stepped up, the Negroes in both counties have been under siege. The Civic and Welfare Leagues organized distribution of whatever food came into the areas, and succeeded in breaking the gas boycott.

Negroes have been able to withstand the pressure only because of the Fayette League, a large, tightly-organized, almost clandestine organization. Its chairman, McFerren, leads an underground existence. He slips in and out of the county by little-used back roads and speaks and writes in code. Supporters suspect that his telephone is tapped; his home and store are under constant surveillance.

Around his house he has dug a series of trenches so that only those who know the route can reach the door without mishap. He sleeps in his car ready for a fast getaway.

A reporter who was arrested immediately upon leaving the McFerren home told the GUARDIAN that he had been in the state only three hours when he was stopped and booked by the Fayette sheriff. Word was sent ahead, the reporter said, to the Haywood sheriff, and he was stopped and questioned upon entering that county. Other visitors to the McFerren home bringing food over back roads at night have reported harassment as they left the area. For months McFerren's mail was tampered with; complaints led to the replacement of the local postmaster.

VIOLENCE COMES: Threats of violence became reality in Fayette County on Dec. 28 when one tent-family resident, Early Williams, was shot from a roving car as he slept. His wife and five small children were unhurt. Williams was reported in good condition at a nearby hospital.

Up to the time of the shooting there had been tension but little terror. There had been some incidents: McFerren's mother-in-law had been run down by a truck as she stood in the yard of the McFerren home; McFerren had been chased on deserted roads on his nocturnal trips out of the county for supplies; when the first gas boycott had been broken gas deliveries had to be made by armed convoys. But for the most part the strategy has been a concentrated drive to starve the Negroes out.

Feeling is that it was organized by the 12 families which own most of the land in the county, the cotton gins, banks and newspapers. They also run local government and through connections with a few other families control state politics.

THE PATTERN: In Fayette County the pattern of the landowners was simple: First tell your sharecropper or tenant that it isn't good for him to register to vote; then tell him he can be replaced by a machine; then replace him, evict him, cut off his credit at stores and at the bank; cut off his supplies of seed, fertilizer, gas and food; then wait for him to leave.

But Negroes have decided not to leave. At first their defense was to outmaneuver the whites without violence. Now that violence has erupted their defense may change in character, but Early Williams' comment from his hospital bed is typical: "I ain't scared and I plan to go back to Freedom Village as soon as they let me out of here."

Fayette County families had long requested intervention by the Federal government. After several investigations the U.S. Justice Dept. instituted suits against whites in both counties to enjoin them from intimidating prospective voters.

On Dec. 27 Sen. Estes Kefauver requested Red Cross aid, but its president, Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, said the Red Cross did not have the resources "to deal with needs growing out of social or economic maladjustments." He said, however, that local Red Cross chapters were authorized to join community organizations to "alleviate suffering." Sen. Kefauver said that he had made similar appeals to the Dept. of Agriculture and other agencies.

NATIONAL PROBLEM: Other Federal aid, such as the distribution of surplus foods, has been withheld because such aid is administered by local authorities—the same people conducting the boycott. Aubrey Williams, chairman of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, in an interview with the GUARDIAN, said he had telephoned Vice President-elect Lyndon B. Johnson, who expressed interest in the problem.

The SCEF says that the problem of Fayette and other such Southern areas is a national problem. Those Negroes who do leave the South go to Northern cities and face job and housing problems which create serious economic and social problems that expanding urban centers have not yet been able to solve. Those who choose to remain in their Southern homes cannot expect local assistance and must look to the Federal government.

Fayette and Haywood County families at present exist by means of private contributions. Food and funds for additional tents are urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to the National Committee for Rural Schools, 112 E. 19th St., New York.

THE FLORIDA CASES

One clergyman is freed, second ordered to jail

THE FLORIDA Supreme Court on Dec. 20 ordered one clergyman to jail and freed another in similar cases arising from a state witch hunt against the NAACP. Both decisions were unanimous.

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, president of the Miami NAACP, was ordered to serve six months for contempt for refusing to surrender NAACP membership lists to a legislative investigation committee. But the Rev. Edward T. Graham, a former state president of the NAACP, was upheld in his refusal to tell the same committee if he was a member of the organization.

In the Graham case the court upheld what it termed "associational privacy" but ruled in the Gibson case that no rights were violated in the committee's request for the membership records.

In both cases the court upheld the validity of the committee which was set up to investigate alleged infiltration of the NAACP by communists.

Rev. Graham was represented by counsel provided by the American Civil Liberties Union. Rev. Gibson's case will be appealed by his NAACP counsel.

NEW YORK

Save the dates for two first hand reports . . .

On CUBA

by John T. McManus and members of the Guardian Tour

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Tues., Jan. 17 8 P.M.

*Films * Music * Cuban Guests*

On CHINA

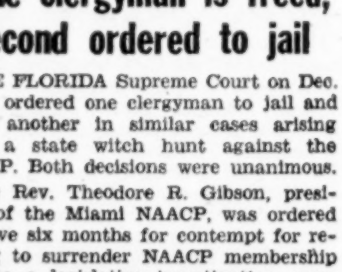
First showing in the East of an exciting film on New China!

Tues., Feb. 14

(Place to be announced)

The true responsibility of the scientist

The articles in the GUARDIAN, like Sir Charles P. Snow's address (p. 5), make ours a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a year.



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MORAL RESPONSIBILITY RECOGNIZED

Scientists seek alternatives to the menace of nuclear war

By Robert E. Light

WHILE COLD WAR enthusiasts see only force as an answer to world problems, the nation's scientists are increasingly taking an unobstructed view of the world and finding alternatives to annihilation. The trend was evident at a meeting of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science from Dec. 26 to 31 in New York. Physical and social scientists showed signs of recognizing their part in creating the technology of destruction and their responsibility to chart paths to salvation.

Some 7,000 scientists participated in 55 panels on subjects ranging from turtle courtship and sterile insects to decay of Fire Island. But there was considerable dispassionate inquiry into world political and social problems. There was a two-day symposium on science in China and symposiums on problems of disarmament, desegregation, economic development in Africa and the scientist's responsibility to the community.

A MATTER OF MORALITY: Sir Charles Percy Snow, British physicist who writes novels under the name of C. P. Snow, set the tone in an address entitled "The Moral Un-Neutrality of Science" (see excerpts on p. 5). He said it was the plain duty of scientists to explain the alternatives to a nuclear test ban agreement. He recalled the world climate that made it possible for Soviet nuclear physicist Dr. Peter Kapitsa to work at Cambridge University in England. Snow said: "I hope to live to see the day when a young Kapitsa can once more work for 16 years in Berkeley [U. of Calif.] or Cambridge, and then go back to an eminent place in his own country. When that can happen, we are all right."

China's scientific renaissance and its remarkable industrial development which, some said, will rival U.S. and U.S.S.R. levels in 20 years, were stressed at the meeting. China's progress was laid to its rapid training of new scientists and to discoveries of vast mineral riches. Although no one had information on Chinese nuclear weapons development—there are four known nuclear reactors, each apparently designed for research rather than for making A-bomb fuel—one scientist said: "Do not be surprised if the Chinese explode an atomic bomb or launch a rocket soon."

CHINA'S LEAP: The meeting heard that the number of geologists in China increased from 200 to 21,000 in a decade. In 1958, primary school enrollments jumped from 64,300,000 to 86,000,000; secondary school enrollments from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 and college enrollments from 440,000 to 660,000. More than 40,000 students graduated from medical schools in the last ten years, against only 500 a year previously.

Dr. John M. H. Lindbeck of Harvard University reported that China had budgeted $440,000,000 in 1960 for science. In 1956-57, he said, China bought $9,000,000 worth of scientific literature from non-socialist countries. Others indicated the results of the investment:

- In the last ten years China has jumped from 20th to 3rd place in the world in the extent of weather observations.
- By 1962 China expects to have eliminated locusts, a serious threat to crops.
- Per capita consumption of electric power has increased 800% since 1952.
- China is expected to be the world's third largest producer of iron and steel by 1970.

Dr. Edward C. T. Chao of the U.S. Geological Survey reported that recent explorations have found enormous mineral deposits in China. A deposit of seven billion tons of iron ore was discovered in central China and another estimated at three billion tons was found in Honan province. New deposits of molybdenum, ilmenite, nickel and coal have also been found recently.

While all were impressed by China's great leaps in industry, science and education, some thought that they were at the expense of quality. Leo A. Orleans of the Library of Congress said that many Chinese teachers are poorly qualified and that there was over-specialization in training. He said that a Chinese electrical engineering student was trained only in electricity, not in other aspects of physics. Dr. Robert T. Beyer, a Brown University physicist, also saw Marxism as a retarding influence on scientific inquiry.

FRIGHTENING FIGURES: The symposium on disarmament was one of the liveliest and best attended. Dr. Ralph Lapp, a physicist who helped develop the A-bomb, quietly measured the potential disaster in megatons of destruction in the U.S. arsenal. He estimated that the U.S. has 1,000 H-bombs, each capable of destroying a city, and a stockpile of material to build another 50,000 bombs. His quiet tone brought complaints from subsequent speakers that he sounded as if

(Continued on Page 5)

BRITISH FEDERATION FACES REVOLT

Central Africa leaders bolt London talks

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

THE "BIG THREE" nationalist leaders of the Central African Federation walked out of a government-sponsored conference here last month after a week of fruitless discussion on the area's future. The Federation is made up of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Africans said they boycotted the talks "because of the determination of the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia to continue white domination and because of their reluctance to accept an elected African majority." They charge that the all-white government of Southern Rhodesia dominates the Federation. Unrest in the three countries has increased since the conference adjourned.

Dr. Hastings Banda, head of the Malawi Congress Party of Nyasaland, Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia and Joshua Nkomo, leader of nationalist forces in Southern Rhodesia, are bitterly opposed to the seven-year-old Federation headed by Sir Roy Welensky under which fewer than 300,000 whites rule nearly 7,500,000 Africans.

TERMS OR BLOWS: Dr. Banda, who demands immediate secession for Nyasaland, said before the conference: "Sir Roy Welensky has to come to terms with us or come to blows with us. They can send me to prison, even hang me, but organized Malawi will carry on when I die."

Although the talks were considered so important that Prime Minister Macmillan himself headed the British delegation, Kaunda was first denied a place at the conference and then given only four out of 30 places; Nkomo was allowed only two places out of 19.

Dr. Banda summed up the situation when he told the GUARDIAN: "My people will be content with nothing less than self-government. We welcome Europeans into our homes, but those Europaans who want to be our lords and masters might as well get out now."

Sir Roy will try to use the breakdown of the conference to push his plan for dominion status for the Federation, which would mean an end to even a semblance of control from London. The white settlers in Southern Rhodesia, where discrimination against Africans is almost as severe as in South Africa, are looking to South Africa for support.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA
"They can even hang me . . ."

EXPLOITATION: The Federation was organized to ensure maximum exploitation of unskilled African labor. A black miner gets £25 ($70) a month; his white counterpart gets £130 ($364). The white worker has a house and every chance of promotion. The black worker cannot better himself and lives in a squalid cell in a barracks.

The copper mines of Northern Rhodesia are controlled by British, United States, Canadian and South African interests. Malfuira Copper Mines is linked with the American Metal Co. and the two other main operating companies are subsidiaries of Rhodesian Anglo American Co., which in turn is linked with the South African diamond monopoly. Dividends have ranged in the last few years from £9,000,000 to £31,000,000, more than the total wages paid to 39,000 African workers.

Nyasaland has vast untapped mineral resources but the monopolies in Northern and Southern Rhodesia are more interested in the African population as a reserve of cheap labor not only for the copper mines but for the gold, chrome and asbestos of Southern Rhodesia. More than half the land of Southern Rhodesia, including the rich tobacco farms, is owned by white settlers.

COMMON CAUSE: The interests dominating the territories in the Central African Federation are as determined to maintain their position as their counterparts in the Congo. They are linked with the Union Miniere, the Belgian group which exploits Katanga, Congo's richest province, and whose shares have been steadily rising as the plot to destroy the Congo's independence goes on.

But the African organizations in the three countries of the Federation and in Katanga are uniting their forces. Mainza Chona, deputy president of the National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, told the GUARDIAN during a visit to London earlier in the year: "There is an imperialist plot to gain control of Katanga and thus paralyze the economic life of the Congo. You can rest assured that despite the bans we shall continue our struggle in the copper belt."

African leaders in the Federation were also solidly supporting the Congo's central government: on Dec. 11 Banda, Kaunda and Nkomo led several hundred marchers through London, demanding the release of Premier Lumumba, arrested by the military usurper, Col. Mobutu.

Save the Dates!

For GUARDIAN 12th Anniversary meetings to be held in the following cities in connection with Editor James Aronson's nation-wide speaking tour, Jan. 19-Feb. 9.

CHICAGO
Friday, Jan. 20—4919 S. Dorchester Av. (South Side). Welcome by Rev. William T. Baird.
Saturday, Jan. 21—Basker, 5010 Jarlath Av., Skokie, Illinois. Welcome by Prof. Curtis MacDougall. (Peggy Kraft Lipschitz at both affairs.)

MINNEAPOLIS
Tuesday, Jan. 24—Andrews Hotel, Parlor M3, 7:30 p.m. CHMN: Fred Stover. Adm. 50c.

SAN FRANCISCO
Friday, Jan. 27—California Hall, 8 p.m. Also Paul Sweezy, economist. Adm. $1.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.
Sunday, Jan. 29—Details later.

LOS ANGELES
Friday, Feb. 3—Alexandria Hotel, doors open 6:30 p.m. Coffee and dessert 7-8; entertainment; program begins 8:30 p.m. Donation $1.50.

DETROIT
Tuesday, Feb. 7—Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer Hwy., 7:30 p.m.

Come, and bring your friends! Help make '61 our year of the "Great Leap Forward"

'BETWEEN A RISK AND A CERTAINTY, A SANE MAN DOES NOT HESITATE'

C. P. Snow: The moral un-neutrality of science

Following are excerpts from an address by Sir Charles P. Snow at a meeting of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science Dec. 27 in New York.

THE DISCOVERY OF ATOMIC FISSION broke up the world of international physics. "This has killed a beautiful subject," said Mark Oliphant, the father-figure of Australian physics, in 1945, after the bombs had dropped. In intellectual terms, he has not turned out right. In spiritual and moral terms, I sometimes think he has.

A good deal of the international community of science remains in other fields—in great areas of biology, for example. Many biologists are feeling the same liberation, the same joy at taking part in a magnanimous enterprise, as physicists felt in the Twenties. More than likely, the moral and intellectual leadership of science will pass to biologists, and it is among them we shall find the Rutherfords, Bohrs and Francks of the next generation.

Physicists have had a bitterer task. With the discovery of fission, and with some technical breakthroughs in electronics, physicists became, almost overnight, the most important military resource a nation-state could call on. A large number of physicists became soldiers not in uniform. So they have remained, in the advanced societies, ever since.

It is very difficult to see what else they could have done. All this began in the Hitler war. Most scientists thought then that nazism was as near absolute evil as a human society can manage. I myself thought so. I still think so, without qualification. That being so, nazism had to be fought, and since the Nazis might make fission bombs—which we thought possible until 1944, and which was a continual nightmare if one was remotely in the know—well then, we had to make them too. Unless one was an unlimited pacifist, there was nothing else to do. And unlimited pacifism is a position which most of us cannot sustain.

The Nashville Tennessean

"There is very little Time—" —John F. Kennedy

Therefore I respect, and to a large extent share, the moral attitudes of those scientists who devoted themselves to making the bomb. But the trouble is, when you get on to any kind of moral escalator, to know whether you're ever going to be able to get off. When scientists became soldiers they gave up something, so imperceptibly that they didn't realize it, of the full scientific life. Not intellectually. I see no evidence that scientific work on weapons of maximum destruction has been in any intellectual respect different from other scientific work. But there is a moral difference.

IT MAY BE—scientists who are better men than I am often take this attitude, and I have tried to represent it faithfully in one of my books—that this is a moral price which, in certain circumstances, has to be paid. Nevertheless, it is no good pretending that there is not a moral price. Soldiers have to obey. That is the foundation of their morality. It is not the foundation of the scientific morality. Scientists have to question and if necessary to rebel.

I don't want to be misunderstood. I am no anarchist. I am not suggesting that loyalty is not a prime virtue. I am not saying that all rebellion is good. But I am saying that loyalty can easily turn into conformity, and that conformity can often be a cloak for the timid and self-seeking. So can obedience, carried to the limit.

When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find far more, and far more hideous crimes, have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion. If you doubt that, read William Shirer's **Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**. The German officer corps were brought up in the most rigorous code of obedience. To themselves, no more honorable and God-fearing body of men could conceivably exist. Yet in the name of obedience they were party to, and assisted in, the most wicked large-scale actions in the history of the world.

Scientists must not go that way. Yet the duty to question is not much of a support when you are living in the middle of an organized society. I speak with feeling here. I was an official for twenty years. I went into official life at the beginning of the war, for the reasons my scientific friends began to make weapons. I stayed in that life until a year ago, for the same reason that made my scientific friends turn into civilian soldiers. The official life in England is not quite so disciplined as a soldier's, but it is very nearly so.

I THINK I KNOW THE VIRTUES, which are very great, of the men who live that disciplined life. I also know what for me was the moral trap. I, too, had got on to an escalator. I can put the result in a sentence: I was coming to hide behind the institution, I was losing the power to say "no."

Only a very bold man, when he is a member of an organized society, can keep the power to say "no." I tell you that, not being a very bold man, or one who finds it congenial to stand alone, away from his colleagues. We can't expect many scientists to do it.

Is there any tougher ground for them to stand on? I suggest to you that there is. I believe that there is a spring of moral action in the scientific activity which is at least as strong as the search for truth. The name of this spring is knowledge. Scientists know certain things in a fashion more immediate and more certain than those who don't comprehend what science is. Unless we are abnormally weak or abnormally wicked men, this knowledge is bound to shape our actions. Most of us are timid: but to an extent, knowledge gives us guts. Perhaps it can give us guts strong enough for the jobs in hand.

I had better take the most obvious example. All physical scientists know that it is relatively easy to make plutonium. We know this, not as a journalistic fact at second-hand, but as a fact in our own experience. We can work out the number of scientific and engineering personnel it needs for a nation-state to equip itself with fission and fusion bombs. We know that for a dozen or more states, it will only take perhaps six years, perhaps less. Even the best-informed of us always exaggerates these periods.

This we know, with the certainty of—what shall I call it?—engineering truth. We also most of us are familiar with statistics and the nature of odds. We know, with the certainty of statistical truth, that if enough of these weapons are made—by enough different states—some of them are going to blow up. Through accident, or folly, or madness—but the motives don't matter. What does matter is the nature of the statistical fact.

ALL THIS WE KNOW. We know it in a more direct sense than any politician because it comes from our direct experience. It is part of our minds. Are we going to let it happen?

All this we know. It throws upon scientists a direct and personal responsibility. It is not enough to say that scientists have a responsibility as citizens. They have a much greater one than that, and one different in kind. For scientists have a moral imperative to say what they know. It is going to make them unpopular in their own nation-states. It may do worse than make them unpopular. That doesn't matter. Or at least, it does matter to you and me, but it must not count in the face of the risks.

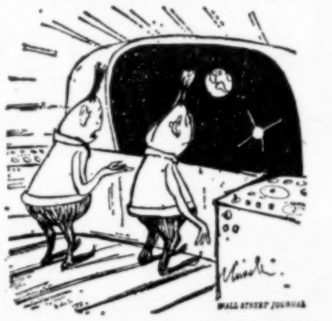
For we genuinely know the risks. We are faced with an "either-or," and we haven't much time. Either we accept a restriction of nuclear armaments. This is going to begin, just as a token, with an agreement on the stopping of nuclear tests. The United States is not going to get the 99.9 per cent "security" that it has been asking for. It is unobtainable, though there are other bargains that the United States could probably secure. I am not going to conceal from you that this course involves certain risks. They are quite obvious, and no honest man is going to blink them.

That is the "either." The "or" is not a risk but a certainty. It is this. There is no agreement on tests. The nuclear arms race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. not only continues, but accelerates. Other countries join in. Within, at the most, six years, China and several other states have a stock of nuclear bombs. Within, at the most, ten years, some of these bombs are going off.

I am saying this as responsibly as I can. That is the certainty. On the one side, therefore, we have a finite risk. On the other side we have a certainty of disaster. Between a risk and a certainty, a sane man does not hesitate.

It is the plain duty of scientists to explain this "either-or." It is a duty which seems to me to come from the moral nature of the scientific activity itself.

THE SAME DUTY, though in a much more pleasant form, arises about the benevolent powers of science. For scientists know, and again with the certainty of scientific knowledge, that we possess every scientific fact we need to transform the physical life of half the world. And transform it within the span of people now living. I mean, we have all the resources to help half the world live as long as we do, and eat enough. All that is missing is the will. We know that. Just as we know that you in this country, and to a slightly less extent we in ours, have been almost unimaginably lucky.



Wall Street Journal

"They're getting too close. I guess it's time we blew up their planet."

We are sitting like people in a smart and cozy restaurant, and we are eating comfortably, looking out of the window into the streets. Down on the pavement are people who are looking at us: people who by chance have different colored skins from ours, and are rather hungry. Do you wonder that they don't like us all that much? Do you wonder that we sometimes feel ashamed of ourselves, as we look out through that plateglass?

Well, it is within our power to get started on that problem. We are morally impelled to. We all know that, if the human species does solve that one, there will be consequences which are themselves problems. For instance, the population of the world will become embarrassingly large. But that is another challenge. There are going to be challenges to our intelligence and to our moral nature as long as man remains man. After all, a challenge is not, as the word is coming to be used, an excuse for slinking off and doing nothing. A challenge is something to be picked up.

Scientists seek

(Continued from Page 4)

he were talking from a madhouse. War with weapons of this size, they said, was unthinkable.

Lapp answered that it was not enough to cry out in horror and to blame shadowy figures in Washington. The state of world affairs, he said, was in large part the responsibility of scientists who cannot shun the problem. From his knowledge of Washington affairs, he estimated that "we have at most one year to conclude a nuclear test ban agreement." After that, he said, the pressures on the administration from military, political Atomic Energy Commission officials to resume tests will be irresistible.

K. E. Bolding, professor of economics at the U. of Michigan, said that talk of national defense indicates a belief in a social system that has passed away. He said that total disarmament was more feasible than partial elimination of weapons. Economic adjustment to disarmament is "no problem," he said. "We can figure out plenty of places to spend $40 billion." The problem, he said, rests on the will to disarm. He suggested that if there were economic dislocations because of disarmament, the nation might pension off all "down to the rank of sergeant."

DOUBLE STANDARDS: Dr. Jerome Frank, acting chairman of the Dept. of Psychiatry at Johns Hopkins U., said the nation needs to investigate new methods of dealing with the U.S.S.R. He said that we react to fear of the Russians only with a show of strength. He suggested that scientists could learn from the non-violent techniques of Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. Charles E. Osgood, research psychologist of the U. of Illinois, noted the double morality standards of the cold war. We justify U-2 flights, he said, while we criticize the Russians for espionage. The Russians condemn us for actions which they find acceptable for themselves. Osgood proposed investigation of unilateral disarmament steps which the U.S. could take without weakening its defense.

A call for discussion from the floor brought a heavy show of hands. All who spoke condemned the arms race. Dr. Seymour Melman of Columbia U. seemed to strike a majority note when he fixed part of the blame on "the apoliticalism of the last 15 years." Columbia U. sociologist Dr. Margaret Mead urged the scientists to spread their knowledge to the community.

SCIENCE IS FOR ALL: AAAS president Dr. Chauncey D. Leake of Ohio State U. offered his own program in an interview in the New York **Herald Tribune.** He called for: (1) distribution of scientific information free of charge throughout the world—"about $1,000,000 will do for a start"; (2) decrease the amount spent on space explorations and on scientific competition with the Russians—"So what if we do get to the moon? As spectacular as that seems, it is nothing against finding out how people reach agreements"; (3) provide a national depository for scientific documents, indexed and abstracted, and make it available to the world.

On China, Leake said: "We have to find out what they are doing, and we have to give them scientific information, too. We can't ignore 600,000,000 people." On the "danger" of giving the Chinese more information than we get, he said: "That's irrelevant. We learned something from the Russians also. Science is for all the people. Isn't that a nice thought for Christmas time?"

6,000-MILE PEACE WALK BEGINS ACROSS U.S. AND EUROPE

San Francisco peace rallies: A pictorial review

RAIN DID NOT DETER pickets at an atomic laboratory in Berkeley in April, 1958

RESIDENTS of San Francisco seem to have earned first place among the nation's peace advocates. There have been more peace demonstrations, walks and vigils in that city than any other. It is fitting perhaps that a pacifist peace undertaking, a 6,000-mile "Transcontinental Walk for Peace," should have started from San Francisco.

The project is sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action, which advocates unilateral disarmament. The walk began Dec. 1 and is headed east, scheduled to reach Chicago on April 1 and New York on June 1. Along the way marchers will picket military bases and distribute leaflets. On June 2, a team will sail for London to begin a walk across Europe to Moscow. The marchers plan to enter foreign countries even if they are not granted visas.

CNVA said that it "recognizes no villain in the East-West struggle other than the outmoded and immoral concept that violence or the threat of violence can still be an extension of national policy." It urged governments to (1) halt nuclear weapons tests; (2) end research and development of mass destruction weapons; (3) end the military draft and reduce armed forces; (4) end espionage; (5) sponsor UN assistance programs to underdeveloped countries; and (6) assist movements for independence and civil rights by non-military means.

Further information may be obtained from CNVA, 158 Grand St., New York 13, N.Y.

The pictures on this page review San Francisco peace activities in the last two years. They were taken by Richard A. Brown, unless otherwise noted.

MORE THAN 500 people marched last January, not counting children. There were slogans for all.

YOUTH ARE evident in all peace rallies, as in this one last October

THIS WAS a church-sponsored demonstration in May

Photo by Douglas Wachter

LINUS PAULING lets his feet echo his heart

UPI photo

START OF THE transcontinental walk across the U.S. and Europe; their destination is peace

HAVANA AS IT IS, AND AS THE MIAMI 'NEWS' SEES IT

Sabotage in Cuba arouses disgust, not fear

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

NOTHING SO WELL illustrates the defiant frankness of the Cuban revolution as Havana's street-corner displays of the Miami **News**. Castro and his **companeros** evidently feel that "the best newspaper in the world," published some 90 miles away, only substantiates their case that while they don't fear truth the frightened giant has forgotten what the word means.

Yet even when a banner-headline shouts from the stands that a counter-revolutionary force has landed and is fighting 120 miles east of Havana, few Cubans seem to want to "read all about it." They are ready for trouble any time, but whenever it comes they know their leaders and press will give the facts.

It takes a morbid joe like me to buy the Florida sheet and learn that the economy of "strife-torn Red Cuba is tottering on the brink of disaster;" that "steadily growing clandestine forces are chipping away at Fidel Castro's Communist dictatorship" with "nightly sabotage and terrorist bombings;" and that an explosion in a Havana church shows a parallel with "the last gasping days of Argentine dictator Juan Peron's regime. The Peronistas set fire to churches in Buenos Aires . . ."

THE ODD FELLOWS: All Cubans know of Washington's massive contribution to the cause of counter-revolutionary saboteurs and provocateurs—and that no nation is without its purchasable traitors. They know that despite all their vigilance bombs go off now and then, causing property damage and a few deaths and pitiful mutilations, and that here and there fires are set in the fields and some sugar cane burned. But the Miami **News** picture is too grotesque to merit the few centavos for a laugh. The days and nights follow one another here, and a visitor would not be aware of the counter-revolutionaries' handiwork unless he went looking for it.

The day I bought the Miami **News**, "Jingle Bells" in Spanish filled the air as parcel-laden multitudes swarmed from department stores with the sign in each window: FIXED PRICES. Was this what the Miami **News** meant by "currency printing presses running full blast . . . Castro's apparent design to completely wreck the Cuban economy?" A band with prancing barelegged drum-majorettes

rounded the corner, and Old Glory fluttered by amid a lot of other flags, a banner behind the procession explaining that these were Cuban Odd Fellows marking some anniversary of their order. I turned to the Miami **News** editorial which said: "The pungent odor of black powder and rebellion once again is clogging the atmosphere over Cuba." I took a good sniff and all I got was the pungent odor of candy syrup. Kids flocked about a street vendor buying butter sticks which he fried in the sizzling goo.

THE OLD DAYS: Buses and trucks hurtled by with their boldly but crudely lettered slogans "Venceremos" (We Shall Win), "Patria O Muerte" (Fatherland or Death) and assorted tributes to Castro. Dodging these, and passing the National City Bank with its window sign, "This bank belongs to the people," I came to a magnificent church and stood in its wide-open doorway. A purple-robed priest was in the pulpit denouncing "marxismo, comunismo y materialismo," and a scattering of people in the pews stared at him with blank faces.

A BOMB IN THIS DEPARTMENT STORE WOUNDED 14 LAST MONTH
But the sign says: "We'll stay open this afternoon—Firmer than ever"

In a rear pew, by odd coincidence, my eye caught a Havana businessman with whom I had chatted a couple of days earlier in the Pan-American Airways office where Cuban scrammers queue patiently for tickets to freedom. "Formerly Cuba was going up, now it's going down," he had remarked. "Why, in the old days you had to book days ahead for our night clubs—they had shows better than anything in Paris—and now look at them: empty!" It takes all sorts to make a Christian congregation.

In Sloppy Joe's huge bar, bartender Rodolfo said he hadn't noticed the black powder smell either, nor yet the economic tottering, although the liquor and other tourist-dependent businesses were certainly shot to hell. Rodolfo was sleeping very well these days—and this, he said, might account for his never hearing the bombs which according to the Miami **News** were wrecking the city at the rate of 16 or more a night.

NON-POLITICAL: But there was a time when he could hardly catch a wink, and in fact just getting home from work at night, and even sending the kids off to school in the morning, was a regular nightmare. In those days they didn't have the government sign behind the bar forbidding soldiers to take any alcohol, and officers would come in and get potted, and nobody dared refuse them service although they never paid a centavo—and sometimes there were gun-fights right there in the bar.

Now when soldiers come Rodolfo points to the sign and "they meekly take a coke and always pay," and the city is orderly and everyone feels secure any time. In the days he was speaking of, "they used to kill people just for fun" and at night you hardly dared breathe in the Havana streets.

"When was that?" I asked, relaxing with a couple of nationalized bacardis inside me.

"Oh, that was in the Batista days," said Rodolfo. "But mind you, I'm non-political—don't run away with any ideas there. My job, my family, that's my life. I don't mingle with any of this stuff."

DEMONSTRATION: A slogan-chanting procession was marching by, and I followed it to the Presidential palace. They stood several hundreds strong shouting their slogans to their cheerleaders' feverish arm-wavings, and the single guard before the entrance of the palace was joined by half a dozen others facing the crowd. Even in Britain I had never seen so few cops at the friendliest kind of demonstration.

A demonstrator told me that they were electrical workers whose union chiefs had been deposed by "a few communists who boss the CTC" (Cuba's overall labor federation). After some minutes they gathered about one of their number who exhorted: "This is above all the time to be orderly—let's have a meeting in the park." Cheers and rapid relaxation of tension.

A small horde of peanut, soft-drink and popsicle vendors was by now on the scene; the demonstrators formed circles around them, buying and chatting, while a few strolled back into the park for the meeting. The guards lounged at ease before the palace, the demonstrators' cheerleaders seemed uncertain what to do, and that was apparently that . . . I returned to my government-owned hotel and for the first time noticed a sign by the reception desk: "It is requested that all war criminals who intend to take possession of this property should come well accompanied and bring their wills."

CASTRO EXPLAINS: That is so much the "style" of this revolution—emotionally combustible but charged with a humor that comes not from taking problems lightly but from facing them with shed illusions. And a few days after the demonstration, at a mass meeting of electrical and other workers, Castro himself unexpectedly appeared and put all the cards on the table in one of his marathon midnight speeches. Devastating in its freshness and clarity, free from those threadbare cliches which so often are used to mask a lack of candor, Castro's analysis of the trouble in the electrical union developed into a positive commitment to the working-class cause beyond those previously made.

The electrical union heads—who were not there to defend themselves: they had already "chosen freedom"—had not only been exposed as participants in specific acts of sabotage of a vital industry. They were using pseudo-democratic slogans to split the rank and file with regard to the very nature and meaning of the revolution. Castro proceeded to heal the split, slowly and patiently, not "telling the workers" but putting in logical order the confused pieces of what was already in their minds. Two nights later Castro was further developing the class theme in the Cuban context, and thousands of workers listened to him until nearly dawn.

SUGAR HARVEST: Next day I saw the beginning of the **zafra**—gathering and processing of the sugar harvest—at a nationalized (formerly U.S.) **central** in Pinar del Rio province. I had especially asked to visit this **central** as the only one near Havana where there had been some sabotage of the crop.

One of the student and worker volunteer militiamen guarding the approaches rode with us the last few miles to the mill. He said they hadn't yet discovered how the fire was set on the now-bare strip edging the forest of green cane. Volunteer brigades had come to cut the charred cane and rush it to the mill. Nothing had been wasted or lost. Castro himself—to everyone's delight but no one's surprise—had turned up to help cut cane the previous day.

At the mill, lines of trucks waited to dump the cane on to the traveling belt, which bore it up through the grinders until the raw sugar cascaded into fresh henequen sacks at the other end. A brown, handsome young worker in charge of the militia that day led us through the mill, automatic weapon in hand. In the eyes of every worker greeting us and explaining his job shone confidence in the revolution and pride in possession of the mill—the monster that formerly destroyed them and now sang to their manhood and future. They said that the "dead period" of some eight months between **zafras**, when they and their families used to slowly starve, was now a thing of the past for everyone there. They had all worked through since the last **zafra** at various jobs not far away, and looked healthy and robust.

SINGLE ALTERNATIVE: "There's one more thing for you to see," said the worker-militiaman. In a large shed at the rear, guarded by several militiamen who sprang to attenton as we entered, more than enough modern automatic weapons for every man in the plant were racked ready for instant use. Our militiaman-guide (who was more than likely illiterate) made one of the most eloquent speeches I ever heard on the theme of "120 men who will become dead defending this place."

Then there were rounds of sweet black coffee, and after nightfall a discussion between two militiamen as to whether they should escort us as far as the highway. There were a couple of un-caught counter-revolutionaries in the area but "we don't want you to get the idea that we are nervous." I said I never saw people who looked less nervous or seemed to have less cause for being so. It ended with them riding with us as far as the outskirts of Havana, so eager were they to show friendship and talk about themselves and the wide world.

Disgust for the counter-revolutionaries' acts of petty sabotage turns to sadness that they can really imagine Cuba's new masters—the Cuban workers—can be intimidated by such methods. Indeed, such effect as it has can only be contrary—for many Cubans are still reluctant, until they see the evidence with their own eyes, to believe this giant called "imperialism" can be so mean and vicious.

What is necessary to deal with Cuba's new masters realistically is to grasp that they have already adjusted themselves to the idea of being dead, as the single alternative to being free. But how can such a thing be grasped by "democratic," "moralistic" windbags, for whom every human motive but that of pure selfishness is a communist plot?

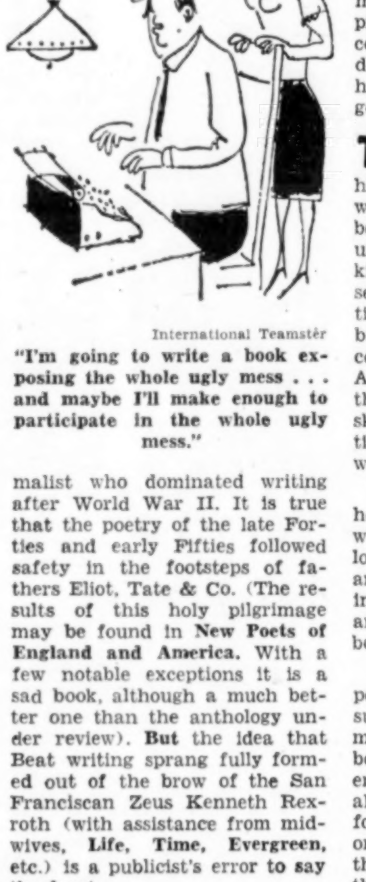
BOOKS

The muse of Madison Ave.

FOR SOME YEARS now (to those with a speeded-up sense of things it may seem like a lifetime) we have been promised fantastic doings in the way of NEW POETRY: the unfound door found and opened, the brass-faced musicians with their eyes of tea, etc., etc., sounding whitmaniac blues out of the ultimate Goof City of all our cities of the Plain. Alas, here we have the terrible proof.* The first literary movement to be co-sponsored by Madison Avenue and the Muse now comes out from behind the seven veils of Lux et Semper (Time and Evergreen).

The "new American poetry" as it turns out is not new at all—in fact it is a bit old-fashioned. Its formal qualities — so far as they exist—go back, for the most part, to defunct endeavors of the Twenties and early Thirties; and its attitudes are comfortably inside the limits of the alienated bourgeoisie. The free (middle-class) spirits brought together here may be dry sticks, but no matter how much they rub together they will start no fires. Babylon is still safe, and the few honest-to-the-Goddess poets in the volume wander forlorn in a wasteland which is the family estate bought at sheriff's sale after the marriage of bad taste and money: philistine editorial privilege in unnatural and unmerciful conjunction with commercialism.

ACCORDING to the myth which has grown up around Beat writing, the movement is a reaction to the Abominable Formalist who dominated writing after World War II. It is true that the poetry of the late Forties and early Fifties followed safety in the footsteps of fathers Eliot, Tate & Co. (The results of this holy pilgrimage may be found in **New Poets of England and America.** With a few notable exceptions it is a sad book, although a much better one than the anthology under review). **But** the idea that Beat writing sprang fully formed out of the brow of the San Franciscan Zeus Kenneth Rexroth (with assistance from midwives, **Life, Time, Evergreen,** etc.) is a publicist's error to say the least.



International Teamster

"I'm going to write a book exposing the whole ugly mess . . . and maybe I'll make enough to participate in the whole ugly mess."

The poetry in this book has had a shadow existence in some of the littler of the little magazines for many a long year. Much of it must go back for its origins to Kenneth Patchen—not included here—who has dismissed the whole thing as a piece of commercialism concerning "artists in funny hats" designed (once again! O Lord how long?) to titillate the bourgeois.

THERE would be no point to including this bit of literary history in a short review if it were not that the poetry in this book appears to me to have usurped the place of another kind of "new" poetry which seemed in the process of formation—a poetry based on anti-bourgeois attitudes and a real commitment to the social scene. As a result the poets of this anthology seem to me the Kerenskys of the true poetical revolution. So perhaps the real thing will come.

Meanwhile what do we have here? In the first place a book which is complete enough to allow us to survey the field. There are a lot of poets here who are in reality nowhere; and there are important omissions; but the book is a useful sampler.

Some of the most significant poems—both good and bad—by such leading poets of the "movement" as Ferlinghetti and Ginsberg are included, and there is enough work from each poet to allow for judgment—we can see for example that Corso is a poet only in an occasional passage, that Bremser is not a poet at all, that O'Hara is consistently witty and interesting, that Koch has some fine japeries, that X—etc., etc. One can even find two poets who are or will be very good—Philip Whalen and Gary Snyder.

WHAT I like least about this collection is that the social protest which was an element of early Beat—or pre-Beat—writing has been for the most part eliminated or translated into the safe strategy of shocking the bourgeois. Someone should tell these poets that a revolutionary sensibility cannot be cultivated merely by smoking pot. Some of the writers here fancy themselves Bakunins as a result of having used all the four-letter words in poems addressed to their mothers.

Finally I don't like the slovenliness in the making of many of these poems. I'm not asking for formal correctness. "Open" poems are fine. But here dozens of disheveled specimens are offered to the wild amaze of the gentle reader. To confuse mere willful expression with authentic art is to deceive and corrupt the young—as some of these poets, to judge by their vast self-satisfaction, have deceived and corrupted themselves.

Why is such work included here? It appears that someone is trying to establish a sacred canon of contemporary poetry. It can't be founded on this evidence. The critical mouse has labored and brought forth—Lo! —the commercial mountain.

—L. S. O'Leary

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Abolition rally

(Continued from Page 1)

"I never thought we would see that awful sight in America."

The Nazi signs included: "Down with Red Roosevelt" . . . "God Bless Walter" . . . "Nazis support the House Un-American Activities Committee."

DISTINGUISHED PETITION: Earlier in the week supporters of the witch-hunt had demonstrated their attitude violently by bombing the home of Frank Wilkinson, field representative of the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and later daubing his house with painted swastikas.

On the positive side, on Jan. 2, 350 prominent educators, business and professional men and civic leaders signed a two-page advertisement in the Washington Post urging Congress to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

[The GUARDIAN will print the full petition and list of signatures in next week's edition.]

ROOSEVELT LETTER: On Jan. 1, members of Congress and the press received a letter from Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), who had delivered a speech in Congress last April calling for the abolition of the House Committee. In his Jan. 1 letter, Roosevelt called for public hearings on the annual appropriation for the House Committee. He said he would not seek abolition at this time because "it is still politically dangerous for many members of Congress to express by means of a direct vote their innermost feelings about the Committee."

The letter continued: "This, I think, presents a challenge to the press, to other members of the intellectual community, and to all who have the power to inform,

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Now hurry up, child—You'll be late for school."

or to misinform, the public. May I express the hope that they will rise to the occasion and perform their educating task honestly and well so that soon it will be possible for Congressmen to vote their convictions and do away with this Committee."

THE MAIN TARGET: Rep. Roosevelt called for public hearings before the House Administration Committee to "scrutinize the budget of the Un-American Activities Committee." He said: "We should give the Committee every dollar it can justify, but not a cent more."

FRANK WILKINSON
The bomb was the second one

During a press conference held before the rally, Aubrey Williams, chairman of the National Abolition Committee, said that the spontaneity of opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee had been the most encouraging thing in the campaign. "Anywhere anybody has put down a bucket, it has spilled over," he said.

Williams said the focus of the campaign is on the House Committee rather than on the other witch-hunting committees because it "has gone after a wider range of people and so there is more interest in it . . . the line of its sins is much longer."

THE RECEPTION: Participating in the press conference were Dr. Uphaus and students from four of the 20 colleges which were represented at the demonstration. A student from the University of Puerto Rico reported that he had been told by the assistant to Chairman Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to "learn English right," and then to "get out" or police would be summoned.

Other students reported that they had received cordial hearings in Congressional offices. One student said that a former House Committee member, Rep. Fraser of Tennessee, "was very interested in our names and addresses and our schools."

In answer to a reporter's question, Arthur McEwan, chairman of the University of Chicago Students to Abolish Un-American Activities Committee, said that frequent charges that students are being duped by communists were "ridiculous." "The idea that students can't think for themselves is one of the most ridiculous things I've heard of," he said.

FREEDOM DEFINED: Los Angeles student Paul Rosenstein of UCLA said: "We're not going to be baited into changing our position because of something communists may do."

Williams pointed out that "any white man who stands up down South for equal rights is labeled a communist. We are witnessing freedom actually being drained out of our boots."

Williams chaired the rally at which Burton White, University of California at Berkeley student, spoke on the distortions in the House Committee-sponsored film, "Operation Abolition," and on "the novel on which the film is based—The Hoover Report." [He referred to a report issued by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover attributing the San Francisco student opposition to the House Committee to communist direction]. White said that the intent of the Hoover Report and of the Committee was to intimidate students from taking action, but that students have refused to be intimidated.

MANY VOICES: Dr. Uphaus, main speaker at the rally, received a standing ovation. Students also acclaimed his wife, Ola. Dr. Uphaus said:

"I am glad to add my voice to the campaign to rid our country of the House Un-American Activities Committee. I am glad that a few do not stand alone in this objective, for voices are being heard in increasing volume across the land, the voices of churchmen, editors, educators, labor representatives and of others in many walks of life.

"It becomes increasingly difficult for the defenders of the House Un-American Activities Committee to label us as reds, to separate us from our democratic heritage, to imply that we are un-American and disloyal. The House Un-American Activities Committee has left such a trail of waste, extravagance and harassed and broken lives that all who are at all sensitive to the situation know that something terrible is wrong."

THE BACKGROUND: In visits to Congressmen the delegation distributed information on the background and tactics of the HUAC. This included newspaper editorials and resolutions passed by leading organizations denouncing the HUAC. This collection—which has resolutions by the Dept. of Social Relations of the Episcopalian diocese of California, American Federation of Teachers, American Jewish Congress and the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO—is available from the office of the National Abolition Committee, Carroll Arms Hotel, 1st and C Streets, Washington, at 50 cents per copy. The delegation also presented to Congressmen petitions, with over 5,000 signatures, calling for abolition of HUAC.

NEW YORK RALLY: In preparation for the Washington visit, the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee held a rally on Dec. 27 attended by over 600 persons. Speakers included Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and editor of the **Southern Patriot**, and Wilkinson. Both face a year in prison for refusing to answer HUAC questions in 1958, on First Amendment grounds. Their cases were argued before the Supreme Court in November.

Burton White told the audience about his experiences as a participant in student demonstrations against the Un-American Committee in San Francisco last May. Chairman of the meeting was Dr. Otto Nathan, economics professor and author. A HUAC investigator who was present during Braden's talk left after he was pointed out by Wilkinson.

As Wilkinson spoke he was heckled by three Hungarian refugees in the audience. They were escorted out by police, but a scuffle broke out when one heckler struck a member of the audience. Wilkinson said: "This is the kind of violence the Committee wants, and we want no part of it."

CALIFORNIA BOMBING: At approximately the same time that the New York audience witnessed this outbreak, violence struck in California. A gasoline bomb exploded outside the door of Wilkinson's Los Angeles home causing damage and bringing a dozen startled neighbors to the street. The Wilkinson family will have to move. A similar bomb exploded in September outside Wilkinson's office, the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

AUBREY WILLIAMS
Where the South comes in

Wilkinson said in a statement: "I charge that these bombings have been incited by the tactics of the Un-American Activities Committee. Those of us who are engaged in a political campaign to abolish the Committee are being harassed to the point where our families' lives are in danger and our legitimate political activities are hampered by extra-legal means. Democracy is weakened when its exercise is met with this kind of violence."

HELP IS NEEDED: The National Abolition Committee needs funds to carry on its fight against the annual appropriation for HUAC scheduled for House consideration sometime this month. Contributions may be sent to the Washington office (Carroll Arms Hotel, 1st and C Sts.) Persons wishing to earmark contributions to defray the bomb expenses of the Wilkinson family should so indicate.

Wanted: Good cartoons

SINCE its inception, the GUARDIAN has prided itself on the pungent, humorous and satirical cartoons it has been able to print from all over the world. Good American cartoons are the hardest to come by. If you see a good "Guardian type" cartoon in your hometown paper, send it in to us (carefully folded and with the source) in a regular envelope so the whole GUARDIAN family can share it. And keep sending!

Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American
We can hope, can't we?

Foreign Born Committee holds N.Y. meeting Jan. 14

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE for Protection of Foreign Born has called a national meeting of its area committees to be held Jan. 14 at 1 p.m. and Jan. 15 at 10 am., at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., New York City. Representatives of all organizations that seek changes in the Walter-McCarran Law are invited.

Proposals for education and legislative work and a campaign for enactment of a statute of limitations on deportations and denaturalizations will be discussed.

Da Silva and Martha Schlamme in N.Y. program Jan. 15

THEATER AND SCREEN actor Howard Da Silva and folksinger Martha Schlamme will appear together for the first time in New York at Brooklyn Academy of Music, Sunday, Jan. 15, in a program sponsored by the monthly magazine **Jewish Currents.** Songs and dramatizations from the **Three Penny Opera, The Cradle Will Rock,** and the work of Yiddish labor poets will be included, with folk songs of many nations and readings from Sholem Aleichem's short stories.

Cuba Fair Play meeting in San Francisco Jan. 14

PAUL SWEEZY, economist, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, poet and publisher, Beniamino Bufano, sculptor, and Marshall Windmiller, professor of international relations at San Francisco State College, will speak at the opening event of the newly formed San Francisco Bay Area Committee for Fair Play for Cuba. The meeting will take place on Saturday, Jan. 14, at 8 p.m., in the Vista Room of San Francisco's Hotel Whitcomb. A donation of $1 is requested.

The mess in Laos

(Continued from Page 1)

fluence to help overthrow the provisional coalition government and in setting up a puppet pro-U.S. government, which promptly dismissed the international commission. The Pathet Lao forces retreated to the north. The general elections were never held. Parsons was later made Asst. Secy. of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

THE STALEMATE: Trouble has been endemic since then in Laos. A showdown seemed imminent in the fall of 1959 when Pathet Lao troops entered neighboring villages which, the **Wall Street Journal** said (Sept. 8, 1959), "were so hostile to the government that [Royal] army teams are not even permitted to enter."

The corrupt and panic-stricken pro-U.S. government appealed for UN support before soliciting SEATO aid. It skirted the rules of procedure and sent its appeal not to the Security Council president but to Hammarskjold, who was in a position to hold it until the U.S. had time to canvass the delegates. The prospects did not seem hopeful. Instead of troops, the UN sent a commission of inquiry. After the commission reported that it had found no evidence of Chinese or North Vietnamese intervention, the UN took no further action.

A stalemate ensued after the central government rejected a Pathet Lao offer of negotiation; it was broken last August when paratroop leader Kong Le overthrew the pro-U.S. government and persuaded neutralist Prince Phouma to resume the premiership and restore a coalition government. Once again the U.S. intervened in favor of a military strongman—Gen. Phoumi Nosavan—and helped him to power. Phouma escaped into Cambodia and the Pathet Lao and Kong Le forces began a slow retreat northward.

A SERIOUS VIEW: This time the situation is more ominous. The Nosavan government has indicated a desire to join SEATO; this would be a violation of the Geneva agreement and a deliberately provocative move against Laos' socialist and neutral neighbors. In letters to Britain and the Soviet Union, China has declared that events in Laos had "developed to extremely serious proportions" and that Peking would "have to consider taking measures to safeguard its own security." Both Indian Premier Nehru and Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi have urged London and Moscow to reconvene the international commission.

LOOK WHO'S TURNED OUT IN A BELGIAN GENERAL'S UNIFORM
President Kasavubu (l.) at an airport in the "independent" Congo

"Russia and China," the London **New Statesman** said (Dec. 24), "and indeed all Communist and neutralist countries of Asia, are accusing America of military intervention in Laos in an attempt to use the country as a bridge to China. In return, America, which has . . . itself sponsored the recent coup, now accuses the Russians of providing military aid." Facts, however, do not bear out the U.S. accusation against the Soviet Union.

PLANE INCIDENT: For instance, an American twin-engined C-47 plane recently was fired on by retreating Kong Le forces while it was "on a reconnaissance flight at the request of" the Nosavan government and took a picture of a Russian plane parachuting unidentified "supplies" to Kong Le's forces (New York **Herald Tribune**, Dec. 29, 1960). This would point the finger of guilt at Washington rather than at Moscow.

For the U.S. had no right whatever to send up reconnaissance planes carrying American officers in support of a government it had illegally helped to power and whose "legitimacy" was questioned editorially even by the **Herald Tribune** (Dec. 29). The Soviet Union, however, was co-chairman of the international conference at Geneva, and was supplying food and medicine after U.S. intervention to one of the groups with legal right to membership in the Laotian government.

Both Britain and France have sharply disagreed with U.S. policy in Laos. They were convinced that Laos should have a neutral government which would include the Pathet Lao. But thus far they have opposed convening the international commission, sharing the U.S. view that even the membership of a single socialist country—Poland—would make the commission ineffectual. The **New Statesman** noted:

"The weakness of the commission has in fact lain in Britain's subservience to America, which has consistently opposed the commission's recall. As long as America equates neutrality with communism, the struggle for Laos will continue."

The Labor Party, however, has strongly criticized both American policy and British stalling on Laos. Denis Healy, its foreign affairs spokesman, declared on Jan. 1 that the U.S. had "organized the overthrow of one neutral [Laotian] government after another." He added:

"We cannot allow world peace to depend on the irresponsible action of a defeated American Administration in its last few weeks of life."

WHAT'S GOING ON? Neutral observers have been puzzled by the recent unrelieved series of imperialist moves by Washington and by U.S. support for similar moves by its allies inside and outside the U.N. Was the retiring Eisenhower administration doing this to embarrass President-elect Kennedy and his liberal advisers?

The team of Edward Kennedy and democratic senators who recently returned from an African tour did say that African leaders would turn away from the U.S. if they believed "we stand behind the old colonial powers and their policies." And Sen. McGee reported that Africans "deeply resent the fact we react to their problems only when we find a Communist behind a banana tree."

Perhaps U.S. foreign policy will change drastically with the inauguration of Kennedy as President. Still the puzzle remained. For, if there is such a great gulf between the outgoing and the incoming administrations, how can the President-elect and his top-level liberal advisers allow current U.S. policy in the Congo and in Laos to reach such ugly proportions without protest?

Negroes angered

(Continued from Page 1)

representative. Participating organizations included the AFL-CIO, Natl. Education Assn., Natl. Housing Conference, Natl. Assn. of Social Workers, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, American Civil Liberties Union, Anti-Defamation League and American Jewish Congress. The Conference was carefully screened to bar any groups or individuals deemed "too left" to be respectable by ADA standards. Changing House rules to eliminate the Un-American Activities Committee was not on the agenda.

THE PROPOSALS: The opening session (Proposed Rule Changes in the House of Representatives) heard William Phillips, staff secretary of the House Democratic Study Group, the caucus of liberal Congressmen, and Rep. Roosevelt. Proposals for ending the House Rules Committee Dixiecrat-GOP block against liberal legislation were wide-ranging: abolish the Committee altogether; adopt the "21 day rule" to permit by-passing of the Committee after a three-week blockade; change the required number of signatures from 218 members to 150 on a discharge petition to bypass the Rules group; change the personnel of the Committee by removing Dixiecrat members; alter the balance in the Committee by enlarging its membership.

Roosevelt reported a "defeatist attitude among liberal Congressmen" and was pessimistic about the prospects of Kennedy's legislative program. He intimated strongly that a deal was being made by Democratic leaders like Speaker Rayburn with House Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.). In the deal civil rights legislation would be scuttled in return for Smith's' agreement not to block the Kennedy bills on housing, education, etc. Roosevelt argued that liberals should not push too hard to change the rules in the Democratic House Caucus Jan. 1 lest they be charged with being "impractical nuts."

Rep. Roosevelt said he "would look with tremendous sadness on a Democratic leadership agreement not to bring up civil rights legislation in the 87th Congress," but he defended Kennedy's assignment of priority to bills other than civil rights on the ground that special executive efforts would be made to get results on discrimination under existing laws.

CAUCUS AGENDA: Speaker Rayburn and House Majority Leader John McCormack (D-Mass.) revised the agenda for the Jan. 1 caucus from that of previous years to omit reference to consideration of "any other business." This was to make it especially hard to raise the Rules Committee issue.

On Jan. 2 Rayburn revealed his private formula for changing the Rules Committee to a four-man delegation from the Democratic study group, an organization of House liberals. Rayburn said that the Democratic Committee on Committees, which assigns committee posts, would be asked to replace Rep. William M. Colmer (D-Miss.) on the Rules Committee. Colmer, who has been Chairman Smith's right-hand man, opposed the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

The roster of committee appointments would be ratified by a caucus of all House Democrats and then submitted to the House for approval. If the Committee on Committees refused to cooperate, Rayburn said that he and Majority Leader Rep. John W. McCormack (Mass.) would lead the fight in the House caucus.

The New York **Times** reported that Rayburn's plan was reached after a series of private conferences. The **Times** said that originally Rayburn "favored a rules change to enlarge the committee to 15 members — ten Democrats and five Republicans." But when Smith refused to go along, Rayburn decided to try to purge Colmer.

The Conference panel on "Proposed Rules Changes in the Senate" was chaired by Wilkins. There Sen. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) called for a change in Senate Rule 22 to eliminate the filibuster. He deplored the lack of public awareness and noted that he had received almost no mail on the filibuster. He said: "Because of the composition of the Senate, only a change in the filibuster rule will make it possible to achieve even a small measure of the progress which has been promised by both parties in the field of civil rights."

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) called for changes in a wide variety of Senate committee procedures and Senate rules and practices "to restore true majority rule in the Senate." He said: "If the Senate Rules changes are not made on the opening day, Jan. 3, they can never be made in this Congress. It is now or never . . ."

END THE DELAY: The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights distributed a memorandum which said that "postponement now means no action [on civil rights] at least for the next four years." The Leadership Conference, whose chairman is Wilkins, has expressed the opinion that Vice President Johnson will continue his Senate opposition to effective action against the filibuster.

The group has argued against delay in changing the Senate Rule 22 thus: "It may be that strong executive action—Negro appointments, White House conferences, housing executive order, vigorous contract compliance action—will provide sufficient political momentum to satisfy the Negro community for the initial period, but it will not be too long before the failure to meet the basic promise on school desegregation will become obvious."

NO CLEAR PROGRAM: The ADA conference panel on "Program Action on Change the Rules" was weak. There was no clear program of action or plan to mobilize the organization present in the fight. The panel spokesmen—Andrew J. Beimiller, legislative representative of the AFL-CIO, James B Carey, president of the IUE (AFL-CIO), and representatives of the Natl. Assn. of Social Workers and the American Municipal Assn.—were vague about what should be done.

The paralysis on mobilizing for organizational and popular action meant that much of the excellent preparatory work and the significant attendance were largely wasted. These reasons may be advanced to explain the breakdown:

- Some liberals have embraced Kennedy and the Democratic Party to such

Valtman, Hartford Times
"You get on—I only agreed to bring him in!"

a degree that any popular pressure might prove embarrassing to them.

- Some liberals seem to distrust people in action. They prefer top level "deals" to popular pressures and substitute "leadership" for rank-and-file action. Part of this is related to the passion for screening out allegedly "radical" participation, a process that seems to require opposition to popular action as well.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

SAVE THE DATES!
Fri. & Sat., Jan. 20 and 21
Hear **JAMES ARONSON**
Editor of the Guardian
Speak on
The Cold War & The Paper Curtain
Fri., Jan. 20, 4919 So. Dorchester Av.
Sat., Jan. 21, Basker, 5010 Jarlath Av., Skokie, Ill. Welcome by Prof. Curtis MacDougall.

DETROIT

HEAR JAMES ARONSON
Guardian Editor
TUES., FEB. 7 7:30 P.M.
Jewish Music Center
14868 Schaefer Highway
(3 blocks So. of Fenkell)

LOS ANGELES

Hear **JAMES ARONSON**
Editor of The **GUARDIAN**
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HOT NEWS and the **COLD WAR**
at the
GUARDIAN's 12th Birthday Celebration
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Coffee & Dessert 7-8 p.m.
Entertainment Program 8:30
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UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
"MOSCOW JOURNAL—COMMENTS ON SOVIET CULTURE"
by **ALBERT E. KAHN**
author of forthcoming book
"Days With Ulanova"
Fri., Jan. 13, 8 p.m.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.
Admission $1. Question Period

SAN FRANCISCO

GUARDIAN 12th ANNIVERSARY
C E L E B R A T I O N
with
James Aronson, Editor, The GUARDIAN **speaking on The American Press and World Crisis**
and
Paul Sweezy, professor of economics, co-editor of **Monthly Review,** author of **The Theory of Capitalist Development, The Present as History** and co-author of **Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution.**
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REPORT FROM CUBA
PAUL SWEEZY, Editor Monthly Review, Visiting Prof. of Economics, Stanford U.
LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI
poet and publisher
BENIAMINO BUFANO, sculptor
Chairman: **MARSHALL WINDMILLER**
Asst. Prof. Intl. Relations, S.F. State
Sat., Jan. 14, 8 P.M.
Whitcomb Hotel, 9th & Market Sts.
Vista Room Donation $1.
Ausp: Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

SAVE THE DATE! SUN., JAN. 29
Hear Guardian Editor James Aronson
(Details to be announced)

MINNEAPOLIS

JAMES ARONSON
Editor, The **GUARDIAN**
will speak in Minneapolis on
"**HOT NEWS** and the **COLD WAR**"
Tues., Jan. 24 7:30 p.m.
at the ANDREWS HOTEL, Parlor M3
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Admission 50c.

NEW YORK

R E C E P T I O N
Honoring delegates to national meeting of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. **DR. WILLARD UPHAUS,** Co-chairman, will speak.
SAT. JAN. 14 7:30 P.M.
American-Russian Center, 61 Rivington St., N.Y.C. Entertainment-Refreshments. Contribution 99c. IND. subway to Houston Street; 2nd & 3rd Ave. Bus.

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FRIDAY JAN. 6 . 8:30 P.M.
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THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: A Marxist Analysis. Hear: DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, Sun., Jan. 15, 7:30 p.m., at Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern P'kway, Bklyn. Ausp: Crown Heights Forum. Cont. 50c.

The **HICKS STREET GALLERY** presents the art of **IRWIN ROSENHOUSE** in prints & drawings, on exhibit Jan. 6 thru 26. Open Tuesdays thru Sundays, 11 a.m. to 6 p.m., 48 Hicks St. MA 4-3527, Bklyn Hts., N.Y.

What is on **"The Conscience of a Conservative?"** Hear discussion of Sen. Barry Goldwater's book outlining his reactionary creed. Speaker: Claude DeBruce. Fri., Jan. 6, 8 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl. Cont. 50c.

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Travel tips, color film, music. Sun. Jan. 8, 8 p.m., 260 W. 25 St. (basement). Morocco, Spain, Greece, Israel, Yugoslavia. DA 8-6154 afts. Contribution.

KEEP DATE OPEN FOR:
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JENNY AND BEN RATNER
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PUBLIC NOTICE

THANKS to the anonymous contributor for the $200 contribution to the National Guardian.

IN MEMORIAM

The friends of Fanny extend their heartfelt sympathy on the loss of her beloved husband, **John E. Hillberg.**

RESORTS

YES, THE HILLBERGS KEEP THEIR PLACE OPEN YEAR 'ROUND. Drop in for contrast. Phone: Kerhonkson 8008W, Kerhonkson, N. Y.

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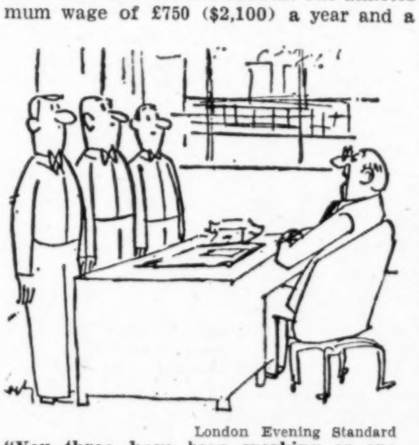
THE GALLERY

A NOTE FROM FLORIDA augurs well for the new year. Bill Hendrix resigned as a leader of the Ku Klux Klan because, he said, "I see no way to stop racial integration and it looks to me like best thing to do is to accept it." . . . More welcome news came from London, where Dr. R. C. Swan wrote in **The Lancet,** leading medical journal, that the rocking chair is fine medicine for many ailments. He said that rocking encourages blood circulation, promotes respiration, stimulates joints, encourages sleep and is a "socially acceptable activity." Compared with drugs, Swan pointed out, the rocker is cheap, non-toxic and has no bad side-effects. . . . Patrick Kelley, director of probation in Madison County, N.Y., found a silver lining in the current "recession." He said that the increased unemployment has brought a decrease in juvenile delinquency because parents are home to look after their children. . . . Pope John XXIII got a nice Christmas gift from West German admirers: a specially constructed Daimler-Benz car. Instead of the usual back seat, the car has a built-in throne. . . . Merrin on Madison Ave., which pioneered the gold toothpick, is offering for women "whose skin is sensitive to ordinary metal" gold garter clips; 4 for $55. For cheapskates, Merrin will sell one for $15. . . . When Douglas Dillon, who is to be Secy. of the Treasury, found out that Congress did not appropriate enough money to buy crystal chandeliers in the new $35,000,000 State Dept. building, he dug into his own pocket and bought ten, at a cost of "several thousand dollars each." . . . Eight years ago a California judge gave Fred Block a simple choice: Either pay your wife the $750 you owe her for alimony and child support or go to jail. Although Block had the money, he chose jail and has been there ever since, except for two months last summer when he escaped. Block said: "I was married to that woman 25 years and I just didn't think she deserved it."

BRITAIN'S PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALLERS (soccer) are scheduled to strike this month. The athletes' union asked for a minimum wage of £750 ($2,100) a year and a percentage of the price when a player is "sold" by one team to another. Players now earn a maximum of £20 a week. A star player may bring as much as £35,000 in a "sale." The union is considering staging games for the benefit of the strike fund. . . . In the pot-calling - the - kettle department, Eric Louw, South Africa's Minister of External Affairs, denounced the New York **Times** for criticizing his government's revocation of Alan Paton's passport because the writer had spoken against apartheid. Louw suggested that the **Times** concern itself with racial discrimination in New York. Louw also said that the U.S. had treated Paul Robeson and Charlie Chaplin worse than South Africa had treated Paton. . . . E. Frederic Morrow, President Eisenhower's administrative officer for special projects, is one member of the outgoing administration who is having a rough time finding a job. He has contacted about 20 firms, most of which he dealt with in his official capacity, but without success. Morrow is a Negro. . . . Someone on California Gov. Pat Brown's staff goofed. One of the Governor's holiday cards expressing "best wishes for a joyous holiday season" went to Alexander Robilliard III. Robilliard is in San Quentin prison awaiting the gas chamber on a charge of killing a policeman. Robilliard sent a card to Brown last year and his name automatically went on the Governor's list for cards this year. . . . Police in Hesse, Germany, arrested two men for driving without a license. Asked to name his profession, one replied: "Chauffeur" . . . The Florida Beverage Dept. adopted a regulation prohibiting the sale or consumption of whiskey within 25 feet of the foul line in bowling alleys.



London Evening Standard

"You three have been working as one man this month . . . so I'm dividing his wages.

ABIGAIL VAN BUREN, who handles a lot of lovelorn problems in her syndicated "Dear Abby" column, almost met her match with this one: "Dear Abby: My girl friend is very jealous. My wife doesn't give me any trouble, but my girl friend checks every move I make . . . I would like to get rid of her but she sticks like flypaper. I am 37 and she is 24 and a hot-tempered, suspicious little spitfire . . . She has threatened to kill me if I look at any woman (outside my wife) and I think she would do it. Can I get any help from the law? (Signed) 'Wants Out.'" Abby answered: "You get no sympathy from me. He who feasts excessively on hot tamales should expect to suffer from indigestion." . . . During the recent revolt in Ethiopia, 54 women attending a UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Addis Ababa were caught in Hotel Ghion. Mrs. Oswald Lord, U.S. representative, described her action: "I sat on the floor drinking bourbon, wrapping Christmas gifts and feverishly writing in my diary." . . . The New York **Times** ran this remarkable story in its resort section Dec. 18: "Miami Beach could faintly resemble the Black Sea resort cities of Sochi, Sukhumi, Yalta and Gagra if all its hotels were turned into sanitoria, its pools were health-giving mineral springs, its chief business were in the summer, not the winter and its patrons were not the idle rich but the overworked proletariat. Aside from these minor differences, both resort areas offer the same tourist attractions."

—**Robert E. Light**

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We therefore recommend consulting your family physician on your vitamin needs. It is **GBS's** purpose to satisfy these needs with tested products at low prices, so that our readers can avoid being cheated by overpricing merchants who make extravagant claims—which **GBS** will not do.

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Vitamin A (Palmitate)	12,500 USP Units
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Vitamin B-6 (Pyridoxine)	0.5 mg.
Vitamin B12 USP	1 mcg.
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	7 mg.
Niacinamide	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	4 mg.
Vitamin E (from d-alpha Tocopheryl Acetate Conc. NF)	2 I.U.
Folic Acid USP	0.4 mg.
DiCalcium Phospnate Anhydrous	260 mg.
(Calcium 75 mg.)	
(Phosphorus 57 mg.)	
Choline Bitartrate	31.4 mg.
Inositol	15 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried (Iron 30 mg.)	102 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate (Copper 0.45 mg.)	1.257 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried (Manganese 0.5 mg.)	1.573 mg.
Potassium Sulfate (Potassium 2 mg.)	4.458 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried (Zinc 0.5 mg.)	1.338 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried (Magnesium 3 mg.)	21.583 mg.

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For undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue

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Thiamine HCL (Vit. B-1)	10 mgm.
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Niacinamide	100 mgm.
Calcium Pantothenate	20 mgm.
Pyridoxine HCI	2 mgm.
Folic Acid	0.4 mgm.
Ascorbic Acid (Vit. C)	300.0 mgm.
Vit. B-12 (Oral Conc.)	4.0 mcgm.
Menadione (Vic K. Analog)	1 mgm.

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In small, easy-to-swallow capsules

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Vit. A. Palmitate	5,000 USP Units
Vit. D	500 USP Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamine HCL)	3 mg.
Vit. B-2	2.5 mg.
Vit. B-6	0.5 mg.
Vit. C	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Niacinamide USP	20 mg.
Vit. B-12	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.25 mg.

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Vitamin B-1 (Thiamin HCL)	2 mgm.
Vitamin B-2 (Riboflavin	2.5 mg.
Vitamin B-6 (Pyridoxine HCL)	0.75 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 USP	1.5 mcg.
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	50 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Niacinamide	20 mg.
Folic Acid USP	0.34 mg.
Vitamin E (from d-alpha Tocopheryl Acetate Conc. NF)	3 I.U.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	747 mg.
(Calcium	215 mg.
(Phosporus	166 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate Dried USP (Iron 13.4 mg.)	45.56 mg.
Manganese Sulfate Dried (Manganese 1.5 mg.)	4.72 mg.
Zinc Sulfate Dried (Zinc 1.4 mg.)	3.9 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate (Copper 1 mg.)	2.8 mg.
Potassium Sulfate (Potassium 5 mg.)	11.2 mg.

100 capsules, $2.50

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For people on restricted diets

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Vitamin A Palmitate (Synthetic)	25,000 USP Units
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Vitamin B1 (Thiamin Mononitrate)	10 mg.
Vitamin B2 (Riboflavin)	5 mg.
Vitamin B6 (Pyridoxine Hydrochloride)	1 mg.
Vitamin B12 USP	5 mcg.
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	150 mg.
Niacinamide	100 mg.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	360 mg.
(Calcium	103.6 mg.
(Phosphorus	80.2 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried, USP (Iron 10 mg.)	34 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried (Manganese 0.954 mg.)	3 mg.
Potassium Sulfate (Potassium 4.43 mg.)	11 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate (Copper 1 mg.)	2.8 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried (Zinc 1.4 mg.)	3.9 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried (Magnesium 5.5t mg.)	40 mg.

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For general vitamin deficiency

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Vit. B-1 (Thiamin, Hcl)	5 mg.
Vit. B-2	5 mg.
Niacinamide USP	30 mg.
Vit. B-12— Activity (Cobalamin Conc. N.F.)	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.5 mg.
Vit B-6	2 mg.
Vit. C	100 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	10 mg.

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PEDIATRIC DROPS

EACH 0.6cc CONTAINS:

Vitamin A	5000 U.S.P Units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin B-1	1 mg.
Vitamin B-2	1 mg.
Vitamin B-6	1 mg.
d-Panthenol	10 mg.
Niacinamide	10 mg.
Vitamin C	50 mg.

60 cc bottle, $2.25

HIGH POTENCY THERAPEUTIC FORMULA

For run-down and convalescents

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A (Fish Liver Oils)	25,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin B-1 (Thiamin Chloride)	10 milligrams
Vitamin B-2 (Riboflavin)	5 milligrams
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	150 milligrams
Niacinamide	150 milligrams

New, improved formula in a smaller, capsule-shaped tablet.

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HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA

High in Iron, Folic Acid & B-12

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Ferrous Sulphate Dried U.S.P. (Equivalent to 57.7 mg. of iron)	4.4 gr.
Liver Dessicated NF (Undefatted)	200 mg.
Stomach Powder	100 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U.S.P.	10 mcg.
Ascorbic Acid U.S.P.	50 mg.

100 Capsules Now $3.75
(Formerly $4)

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

A letter from 24771

Charles McDew of South Carolina State College was arrested last fall for leading the first sit-ins in Orangeburg, S.C. While awaiting trial in Orangeburg he wrote to a friend on two sheets of rough brown paper the following letter.

I SEND YOU GREETINGS from the Orangeburg city jail. Please excuse my stationery. I was relieved of all writing paper when I entered and had to make do with what I had on hand. I was arrested over an hour ago along with three other students. We sat down at the S. H. Kress & Co. and asked to be served. The manager said, "Will you get up and leave, you are interfering with our right to do business. If you do not leave, we will have to seek legal protection of the law." A long silent pause. "You have been warned once, are you leaving?" Another pause. "OK, Captain, come and get them."

At this point about six of Orangeburg's finest came up to where we were sitting. "OK, Charles, you'll come along." We were herded outside and searched on the sidewalk. Then we were placed in a squad car (two to a car) and driven down here to the local bastille. Down here at the jail we were fingerprinted and we had mug shots taken . . .

Since I have nothing else to do (I'm not going out) I'll describe my cell to you. It is a large community-type "hole" with ten beds and six mattresses. It has wall to wall overhead plumbing and an inside-outside toilet with a very nasty face bowl next to it. The ceiling and half of the wall is a sort of creamy white. From the floor up is a soft (not really) baby blue. The walls are quite dirty with many obscene remarks written all over them.

NOW A WORD about my roommates. The two students with me are from Claflin College, and one is a sophomore, the other is a senior. The young lady in the next cell is a senior at Claflin College, and she is alone in her cell. The other two prisoners who were here when we came are rather interesting. They are both Negroes, of course, and one is here for drunken driving and the other—now dig this—is here for having shot his wife with a shotgun.

Pause. I can hear singing outside. They are singing "We shall overcome" and it sounds so wonderful that I kind of want to cry. Dot, the girl in the next cell, can see them and there are nearly four hundred students outside and as I said they are all singing. If they arrest them we will of course stay in jail, we don't have fifty thousand dollars.

They are singing the Star Spangled Banner now and I feel a kind of bitter sick feeling deep inside. I know that those singing as well as we who are in here believe that "we shall overcome and the truth will make us free" and I am trying so very hard to believe that this is the "home of the brave and the free."

I keep asking myself just how brave are the people who put me here, how free am I, how free is Mr. Todd the Kress manager, how free is anyone in this socially sick culture of ours? I hurt deep. I hurt not for myself but for those who are sitting here in the cell with me, for the poor devils who will soon go on trial.

OH GOD, WHY MUST IT BE THIS WAY, why can't we be a world of blind men, then we would all be free and equal? Or would a group of blind bigots start discriminating on the basis of tone quality? Would all people with high voices have to live in filthy ghettos and be second-class citizens? Would the children of the high voiced have to fight mobs to get into school? Would their braille tablets say that they aren't as good as the low voiced and that they smell bad, have V.D. and live from day to day with one dream in their dark world, and that is to sleep with a low voiced woman? Oh sickness, Oh hate. Go and leave the hearts and mind of man; let me be me, Charles Frederick McDew; man, student, lover of life. I don't want to be that nigger with no personality, no being, just a dark blob. I want to be me with my color, that I love, with my eyes, my body, my dreams and aspirations.

I just paused to rest and I read over what I had written. I did not mean to get off on a deep emotional pitch but that's the way I was feeling. I hope that you understand. I don't hate my jailers or Mr. Todd or any of the other White Southerners. I feel sorry for them and I hurt for them too. I'd better close now, it has been a very trying day and we have a trial in the morning. Pray for me . . . pray for us all.

Chuck, or as the fellows in the cell call me, 24771.